1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

with you: we will stay with you all the day and for the rest of our lives. By morning everyone will know what has transpired.' He took the bundle with the Crow Tassels and put it by his bed.

"He started out next morning from the tipi carrying the bundle. You never bury anything of which part is a feather. You return it to a tree and tie it there. Thus was ended Red Young Man's war career.

"Red Young Man never again went with a war party. He became a camp-moving peace chief; he confined himself to his home duties. When he took off his tassel and put on his war bonnet, he became the highest war chief. When visiting tribes came to call, everyone would hold their breath when Red Young Man counted coup. He was the pride of the band.

"As time went on, he finally married. He married his own niece, his sister's daughter. Though he was so very great and so important, he did not escape being slightingly referred to as 'niece-wife.' The talk was that that wife had been loose before he married her, so he married her to make her behave. She was young and pretty. It was her first marriage and they had children."

In this practice the social ideal was exaggerated to social negation. The Crow Tassel Men pursued the war goal with such singleness of mind and purpose that they were no longer of the larger society. Thus during the period of their calling they were of little significance in civil affairs. Yet when years of success without death, or the death of one of their membership, caused them to dissolve the band of special comradeship and warlike duty, they became leading men in the community by virtue of their prestige.

The Crazy Dogs and the Big Horse Owners were also limited groups among the Comanches. The Crazy Dogs arrived at their state by an intrinsic waywardness in personality. The Big Horse Owners chose their road as a way of life for much the same reasons as motivated the Crow Tassel Wearers.[13] "I might make many errors and fall down many times," said Black Horse on taking up the insignia of the Big Horse. "I shall take my father's road, and maybe I'll come out a somebody."

The Crazy Dogs were contraries. They did everything backwards. Tell them to bring water, and they would fetch fire. She Invites Her Relatives told of a widow who lamented her lot and her lack of a buffalo robe. A Crazy Dog heard her. He told the old woman to hold her peace; he would get her a robe. When he returned to camp he brought with him the skin of a flayed enemy. This he hung from a pole before the widow's door. Such men were a great nuisance. They urinated like dogs. Going about the camp they could

[13] It is difficult now to distinguish what traits belonged to the Contrary Men and what to the Big Horse Owners. Among them were a gourd rattle as insignia and a slit sash worn over the shoulder. In attack the sash was pegged to the ground, so that the wearer could not retreat unless released by another Comanche.

2: Lee T-5 (1855-1858) 1957
NO6 Comanche NO6

439 The buffalo robe is the principal, and indeed, so far as I know, their only article of commerce—their only source of wealth. At a certain season every year they are transported to the confines of Mexico, and sold to parties of Mexican traders who annually meet them there, and receive in compensation hatchets, knives, and such other implements as are used by them, together with cheap calicoes, mescal, and a great variety of trinkets.

291 It has previously been stated that the men dress in buckskin. The women do likewise, to a great extent, but most of them wear a sort of short gown made of the calico thus obtained. Children, until they arrive at the age of eight or nine, do not take the trouble to dress in anything.

515 In their personal habits they are supremely nasty. Occasionally, in warm weather, they bathe in the river, but daily ablutions are not thought of, so that they are constantly covered with dirt and vermin.

●582 The institution of marriage is recognized, and governed by established laws. When a young man becomes enamored and resolves to take a wife, he presents himself before the council and makes known his desire. If there are no objections on the part of the maiden or her parents, the council decrees that they may live together in the matrimonial relation one moon. If, at the end of that time, there has arisen no dissension between them, and they are mutually satisfied, they are permitted to continue the relation another moon, and if they live together harmoniously through that, the knot is irrevocably tied. The system of matrimony among them, therefore, seems to be founded on the principle of the rule of three.

764 Equally peculiar is their mode of burial. When a warrior dies, his body is carried out and laid upon the ground, his head always toward the west. A pen is then built up around

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

alone to the small camp of related individuals forming a composite extended family to a large group of several hundred people. But the band was not organized around a family group, nor was it the basis for the regulation of marriage. Clan organization was wholly absent. In the large groups, more often than not marriage took place within the band so that a couple belonged customarily to the same band as both their parents. But in cases of interband marriage, residence tended to be virilocal, for a band did not want to lose its fighting strength to another, and in personal disputes a man had to count on the support of his brothers, wherefore brothers stuck together in their parental band. This being so, and a son-in-law being expected to furnish food to his wife's parents, they, in giving consent to marriage, preferred their daughters to take a husband from their own band. Yet the kinship principle was weak, even within the extended family band; for although groups of relatives tended to camp together, the linkage of the person to the band was on the basis of free association. Any person could withdraw from one band and join another at will.[9] There were no restrictions to prevent a change of residence from one band to another at any time, and no formal ceremony was required. With a great deal of interband visiting going on, temporary changes of band membership were frequent. A newcomer simply moved in, and no permission was necessary.

Likewise, groups of individuals under their own leaders sometimes separated from the main band, possibly to reunite later or to join some other band. Such divisions sometimes gave rise to new bands if these cessionists stayed off on their own. In several known instances, smaller or weaker bands merged with larger bands and lost their identity.

In the large band, relatives tended to camp together. Thus the camp pattern retained a degree of regularity. And when the band was subdivided, as was often the case, there is reason to believe that the break-up tended to be into the smaller groups of relatives joined by the families of friends drawn within the orbit of the group.

The family headmen—and there was at least one for each group—

[9] David G. Burnet, "American Aborigines, Indians of Texas," *The Cincinnati Literary Gazette*, Vol. I (May 15, 1824), 154; E. A. Hoebel, "Comanche and Hekandika Shoshone Relationship Systems," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. XLI (1939), 440–57, has a similar analysis of the Comanche band.

The Comanches

881 occasion for ceremonial feasting and celebration, and a daughter who was a favorite child in a well-off family might run over the prairie hanging to the tail of a fast pony so that she would be agile and active. This was the only magical activity associated with puberty. She was then ready to marry and become the mother of children and thus to contribute her part toward adding to the number and, therefore, the [582] strength of the tribe. By the time she was sixteen the chances are her marriage had been consummated.

868 A boy learned to ride almost as soon as he learned to walk. From earliest babyhood he was familiar with horses and their motions, riding behind his mother, clinging to her or to the horse's mane, or strapped to her saddle. He thus gained confidence, learned balance, and, by practice, learned to ride an old gentle pack horse; by the time he was four or five years old, he was expected to be able to manage a pony of his own; and by the time he was six, he was riding young colts bareback. Sometimes while learning to ride, he was bound on the pony by a rawhide lariat while another boy held the pony by another lariat and circled the pony about until the boy literally became a part of the animal. He received the criticisms of companions, father, mother, and other relatives and onlookers. If he fell, he was laughed at by the girls and others, but he did not become angry with his critics. Soon afterwards he had to help herd the ponies. He early became expert in the use of the rope for catching horses and henceforth spent much of his outdoor time on horseback.

603 868 By the time the boy was five or six years of age, he was given a bow and some blunt arrows and taught to shoot, usually by his grandfather. This was natural enough since the father was still engaged in war and hunting, while the older man had probably passed the period of active life and thus had the leisure to make bows and arrows and to devote a good deal of his time to the education of his grandson. Consequently, there developed between the two an intimate relationship whose pattern was one of indulgence and congeniality linked with the less severe forms of authority-obedience. The grandfather taught the grandson to ride, to shoot, to make bows and arrows, and the secrets of the hunt and the trail. He told him stories of his boyhood and early manhood, instructed him in the tribal history and traditions, legends and religion, and many other things

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

The Comanches

593 While a boy was growing up, a very close comradeship was likely to develop between him and a brother. The relationship between brothers became one of mutual helpfulness. It was based on mutual affection and interdependence in play, work, and war. There was no formality between them. An older brother gave the younger much helpful advice, and when they went on the warpath together, the older brother was likely to keep a watchful eye on a younger brother until he had become an experienced warrior. Even afterwards they remained closely associated and rendered mutual assistance. This relationship was carried to the point where they lent each other their wives; especially would an elderly married brother accommodate his younger unmarried brothers. However, he could expect reciprocity when the younger brother married. "He would never feel the same about his younger brother, if he refused to make it even."[11] This 592 close relationship was sometimes instituted between two friends, perhaps being more common where there was no real brother. In such a case the friend took the status of a "brother" in the relationship system of his comrade's family, assuming all the privileges and restrictions which went with the new status. Then the two friends ("brothers") were likely to marry sisters and thus become brothers-in-law, or *haints*, which is the same word as "friend."

882 A boy's education by advice and admonition was considered to have ended with his first journey to war. He was supposed to know by this time that to gain the approbation and respect of his people he must be brave and courageous in war, wise in council, cool and fearless in the midst of danger, ardent in his friendship, charitable to the less fortunate of his community, hospitable to strangers, and enthusiastic in his patriotism and devotion to the welfare of his tribe. ●582 He was likely at that time to turn part of his attention to love and courtship and marriage. It was not uncommon for the male to marry at an early age. On the other hand, he was somewhat restrained by the desire to improve his social prestige by developing a reputation as a warrior, raider, or hunter. Also, he needed horses or other plunder to secure a wife. He might, of course, persuade his father to furnish the necessary horses, but it was far more respectable for a young man to acquire his own, so Comanche boys married at later age than girls.

[11] Informant: Post Oak Jim.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

In fact, girls were often married off to middle-aged men who could give a good bride-price. The average age at marriage for girls is said to have been sixteen, while for boys it was twenty-five to thirty.

Although youngsters were not subject to moral censure for sexual activity, it was not encouraged. Boys, during the period of their pre-adolescent gang life, ignored the girls to a great degree. At adolescence, when they got their own tipis, they became positively bashful. It was proper for girls and women to make sexual advances, but not for a well-mannered boy. "Boys seemed to stay pretty much to their tipis," said Post Oak Jim. "It was the girl's place to come to them." Bolder, unmarried older girls might crawl in a boy's tipi at night to initiate him in lovemaking. In the dark these girls commonly kept their identity anonymous, for it would not help their reputations to be known.

The Comanche pattern of social conduct, in theory, prohibited young couples from being seen together. In response to the query of what would have happened if they had been found together, informants replied, "It would have been too bad." In practice, however, they did find opportunity to be in each other's company. More romances probably began where the girls went for water and wood than any other place. When a young lover became fond of a girl, he waited near where she might pass. When she approached, he stepped toward her, watching for an encouraging sign that his attentions might be welcome. If she was not interested, the girl made the fact known through her actions, and he went away much mortified. If the girl were favorably inclined, they agreed by a sign, mutual understanding, or orally on a time and a meeting place. If no older people were near, they might spend a while together. Again, they might agree to meet after dark. Sometimes a girl allowed a boy to come to her tipi. The more bashful boys lay outside, whispering to the girls inside, but they might be bold enough to crawl under the tipi and lie with them. More often, however, the girl crawled out and went a short distance away with her suitor. Supposedly no one else knew, but informants felt that certainly the girl's mother must at times have been aware of what was taking place. Most courting was done when the girl slipped out of the tipi and met the boy at night.[12]

[12] Informants: Medicine Woman; See How Deep the Water Is. Statements by Marcy, Dodge, Parker, and others are substantially in agreement.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

587 brother's daughter naturally belongs to the same clan as her father's sister. Such marriages are nothing more than the extension of the sororate to a lower generation and, like the levirate and sororate, they function to keep the bond between two families or marriage groups firm when one of the links has been snapped. In at least one Comanche instance, recounted by Slope, such a marriage was made for this explicit reason. The widowed husband was said to be a very good man, and his brother-in-law wanted to keep him in the family. As he had no other sister, he gave him his daughter instead. Previously, the widower had been his *haints* and they had joked as brothers-in-law do. Now brother-in-law had become son-in-law to his friend, and they both changed their behavior and address terms to the more circumspect relation required of son-in-law and father-in-law.

582 682 Avowedly a man could also marry his stepdaughter, but we have no examples of such marriages. So, too, he could marry his stepmother when his father died, but not his real mother. In the heinous case of attempted parricide of Old Buffalo, who had three wives, his son and grandson shot him and ran off with the two wives from whom they were not descended. They were ostracized ("people didn't like it") and had to live on the edge of the camp, but not so much for marrying the stepmothers as for their attempt on the life of their father and grandfather.[19]

582 591 Marriages between persons of any degree of recognized genetic relationship were absolutely forbidden. Most marriages took place within the band; hence, a couple lived customarily in the same group as their parents. The groom brought his wife to his private lodge, which was set near that of his parents, and there they were likely to live until a growing family made a larger dwelling necessary. Since residence in inter-band marriages was more often virilocal (residence in the locale of the husband), children usually belonged to the band of the father. When, however, a man took a first wife from another tribe, he generally went to live with her, since his own tribe held him in light esteem afterwards.

606 The bride's mother with other relatives and friends of the couple ordinarily helped the couple get started housekeeping. She helped make much of the furnishings and possibly a new tipi. There was no

[19] Informant: She Invites Her Relatives.

9: Gladwin E-5 (1940) 1948 NO6 Comanche NO6

601 Thus we see that in spite of these and other exceptional situations the size of the group of relatives which may be established through any given line of relationships is fairly definitely limited. Actually, however, it is quite clear that a Comanche could almost always call every other Comanche by a relationship term of some sort or other, and usually did. Of course, with a system which is completely repetitive, such as this one, it is only necessary to establish relationships with one person in the group, find out in which direction the term goes if it is reciprocal, and all the rest of the relatives will fall into place. This must have been of great assistance in the old days to someone changing band allegiance. At the present time there is seldom any real difficulty in locating a common relative with anyone in the tribe. The actual origin of most of these relationships is naturally lost; usually they will be phrased as "no real relation" or, at best, an "old relation."

But one may speculate that many of them are actual old lines, whose common origins have been lost, but which continue to exist parallel to each other. [582] [184] Several examples could be cited of potential beginnings for such lines; thus one informant (T) was told by his older sisters of a line of "real blood relation" to his father, and he kept this line quite distinct among his relatives. He felt that this would be a definite bar to marriage with any of the people involved; yet his "great-granddaughter" through this line married his "great-grandson" through an older brother. Thus the younger children had forgotten, or ignored, this relationship entirely. The old man was quite obviously very disturbed when this relationship was pointed out to him; he himself had not thought of it specifically before.

The wide disparity between actual age and terminological generation between some of these systems of floating relationships suggests at least that they go back a good many generations. The most striking instance of this involved the other informant from whom a genealogy was collected (TY). She kept several lines distinct, all stemming from relationships which her maternal grandfather, a famous warrior (Red Young Man), had observed and she had 602 noticed, but which he had never explained. Two of these happened to converge 601 upon a friend of hers in the form of husbands, the first of whom my informant [55] addressed as "younger brother," and the other as "great-grandfather."

She also said that before acculturation into the white patterns, when the name-tabus were strong, parents would never tell children even in private more than one or two names of deceased people who were of importance in the family tree, and would do little more than indicate by what term one should call so-and-so, warning that it was a close relationship. It is easy to see how these children could grow up in ignorance of why they used certain terms, and not very aware of the closeness of the relationship, and thus pass on to their children little more than the usage of the terms.

Whether or not this is actually the origin of the majority of the relationships recognized is a matter for conjecture. In any case, we do find these very

conciliate the favor of, the Author of the war of elements, I could not determine. Another circumstance induced me to think they might have some notions of a future state. There was a young woman among them, who certainly possessed some traits of character more amiable by far than the most of her race with whom I was acquainted; she sickened and died, when their grief, as usual, was unbounded. I observed to one of the females, that I hoped she was better off than when here; – she smiled, and pointed upwards. The strength of their attachment to each other, and the demonstration they give of the same, even to the dividing of the last morsel with each other upon the point of starvation, might put many professed christians to the blush! But they are just the reverse of all this to all the world beside. They think themselves the cleverest race of men on earth, and treat all others as infinitely inferior to themselves. They have no formal marriages among them. They generally take wives at an early age. Each man is allowed to take five women; but, in making his selection, the ties of consanguinity oppose no barrier; hence they are truly a consanguineous race of so motley a mixture, that it would be impossible to identify the connexions. The distinction, however, [56] might be less obscure, but for the fact, that with them matrimonial alliances oppose no restraint to promiscuous intercourse. The relation of the women to the men differs little from a state of the

30: Levy E-5 (ca. 1957) 1958 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma
Kiowa NQ1S

/page 32 continued/

C Within a small peyote group will exist enormous differences in dis-
K tance to be travelled. Two cars in a family will frequently distort
484 the picture. The occupation of an individual will to a great extent determine the amount of travel time available regardless of the amount of interest in visiting, peyote, or pan-Indian affairs in general. Also, individuals who must commute long distances to a steady job will rack up high speedometer readings without spending much time visiting, etc. In fact, I have even observed some Comanches with widely dispersed kin and friends spending more time visiting than many Kiowas whole families live within a two mile radius. In spite of this, I still feel that the travel pattern of the Comanches and Kiowa is considerably different from that of the neighboring whites Just how it can be measured or accurately described, however, I do not know..

C Turning now to the kinship organization, it is safe to say
K that the same complexity due to individual variations is to be found.
601 Moreover, the attitudes toward change color the data given by infor-
829 mants. In this way the father of a family that has kept its kinship
177 patterns (relatively speaking) may be convinced that the old system
602 has disappeared entirely. The converse may also be the case.

C The concept of the ideal pattern has been preserved by all
K the /33/ older people I have met, Kiowa, Comanche; mixed bloods,
[569] Christians and Peyotists. The pattern does not seem to be directly
[191] affected by inte-marriages except insofar as the mixed marriage may change the dominant language of the family. The actual behavior
C patterns are changing in many respects. One of the chief factors is
K the small size of the tribe (Comanche in this instance) which has
601 forced marriages to occur within the exogamous group to an extent.
177 Strictly tabu marriage have occurred both among the Kiowas and
602 Comanches but these are still recognized as wrong and the participants
[161] are stigmatized. The sanctions are not as sever as the traditional
582 ones, however.
588
[684]

/page 34 continued/

C 602 598 178 (a la automobile) but not on the same seat. John maintains that this no longer holds for his own children and that brothers and sisters will even dance together. However, I have never seen any of his children break these strictures.

C K 858 178 While preadolescents frequently break tabus, this is to be expected from the examples of indulgence afforded in the earlier days. The preadolescent had not yet come of age and was not considered responsible or even capable of comprehending the total network of responsibilities and strictures which he would have to follow as an adult.

C K 602 178 The range of recognized kin seems to have shrunken considerably for those younger than about 45 years. This is probably due in part to the fact that the ideal marriage cannot be adhered to and the resultant mix ups tend to confuse the younger generations (in its turn due to a less clear settlement pattern?). Claim relationships C K 608 [508] also seem to confuse the younger people who do not wish to be bound by them. To be so bound would certainly restrict the choice of a marriage partner to the nth degree although I do not think this is C K [178] a motivating factor in the minds of the individuals concerned. The young people do not make claim relatives as did their parents. On the other hand, a claim relative of the parents or grand parents who keeps close contact with the family will be recognized and honored C K [428] by the young people. The practice of inheriting a claim relative after an older person's death is most often considered a great nuisance.

Factionalism

C K 177 186 The conflict in primitive societies coming into contact with technologically superior cultures, between assimilationists and traditionalists has been proposed elsewhere (Redfield 1953). I have been attempting to determine whether this tension may be observed today and, if so, whether it can be helpful in coming to understand the factionalsim of the Plains Tribes.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

115 They teach us the men. We all sitting around there. When she tell us how
159 Jesus was born, we just laugh and act silly and our matron would say, "Don't
177 laugh." Then we ask her, "Did you see the baby?" You know, things like that
797 . . . the older girls and us ask her questions like that. We just laugh about it.
872 All the time we thought it was silly for them not to go and see the baby when
[212] it was born. Yeah, we learn how to write and learn how to spell, and arithmetic and whatever they learn us. We caught onto it. Then the government wrote a letter to our superintendent and said to send a bunch of them to Haskell in Kansas. And they sent a bunch of them over there and they went to school up there for about three years and they come back and they were grown and they all got married, but I didn't go. My mother wouldn't sign the papers and my dad wouldn't let me go. "No, we don't want her to go up there. She might run off or she'll freeze to death or somebody might kill her on the road." So a bunch of us girls, we didn't go. And a bunch of them went. My brothers went. They were younger than I and they went. And my mother said, "No, she's not going, but you boys could go. Boys are tougher than the girls." That what she told my brothers and so they went. I didn't care nothing about it either way.

During the summer vacations she would return to her home, which at that time was situated along Chandler Creek in Comanche County, Oklahoma.

I never did go places because we didn't have no places to go in them days . . . no cars or nothing. When we come out of school we just stay home all summer.
115 Help my father with the work and everything he's got. He had lots of crops. My
159 brothers cultivate that corn. I have to ride the horse for them and keep it on
241 the row because the corn was so high that the horse would keep eating back and forth and my father would make me ride that horse to keep him on that line so he won't be eating the tops of the corn. They take turns, three of my brothers, while I be riding that horse all day, all day. In the morning we go plow till noon and then we go to dinner and then we go back and plow again till we get through with it. My father used to teach us to work, you know.

115 It was during summer vacation prior to her last year at school that Sanapia's
159 mother offered to train her to become a doctor. Sanapia was reticent at first, but
593 combined pressure from her mother and maternal grandmother persuaded her to
756 at least consent to the first phases of this training program, that of learning to
868 identify in their natural habitat the various floral medicines which her mother
824 used in doctoring.

The Middle Years

115 Sanapia left school when she was fourteen years old, and her activities
159 for the next three years were in the main involved with the training program her
756 mother and uncle had established to teach Sanapia all she would need to know to
868 become an eagle doctor. By her seventeenth year Sanapia had successfully com-
[871] pleted her training and possessed all the skills, knowledge, and supernatural powers
[582] which she would employ in doctoring after she passed menopause. During the period of training her mother had dissuaded her from marriage so that she would

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

be able to give her full attention to learning the skills of the eagle doctor. Much of this dissuasive effort was also aimed at Sanapia's older brother since it was the brother who had the prerogative of giving his sister away in marriage. However, after her training both the mother and the older brother immediately joined in a combined effort to find Sanapia a good husband.

Sanapia, age 16 (left) and her young sister (right). Taken in Lawton, Oklahoma, 1912.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

camp functioning properly. The tasks were varied and time-consuming, and no one woman could have taken care of all of them.

The warrior-husband was the killer of game, the procurer of buffalo meat, the Comanches' principal source of food. He had to have two sets of trained horses—one trained for war, the other for the killing of buffalo. In either pursuit, his life was largely dependent on the horse. He manufactured both his riding gear and his weapons, and he trained his own horses. His fighting was practically on a twelve-month basis, since, though the Comanches did not like winter fighting, most of the ambitious warriors made raiding expeditions into Old Mexico when the group went into winter camp.

The husband, therefore, could be of little or no help around the camp, and the labor had to be divided among the women. Usually one of the women was an expert horsewoman and had the responsibility of her husband's horse herd, which often numbered a hundred or more. When the fall hunt was on for the winter's supply of meat, the wives did the skinning and butchering. They dried the meat and made the pemmican. Also, they prepared and tanned the hides. After the tanning came the making of clothing. This included everything the family wore, both in summer and winter. Since there was neither needle nor thread, the holes in the leather were made with a stone awl or one made from bone, and sinew taken from along the backbone of a buffalo or deer was used for thread.

Other hides were converted into robes for bedding or into covers for the tepees. When camp was moved, tepees had to be taken down and fastened on travoises, like all the other camp gear, and then camp must be set up again at the new location. All of this was strictly woman's work.

Somewhere, sometime, during breathing spells from all these duties, the women bore babies, nursed them, and raised them to be good Comanches. And all this was in a society without a recognized medium of exchange, in which no one could hire anything done. The Comanches did, however, utilize slave labor. Successful warriors furnished captive women to their wives for helpers. These captive women were given the opportunity to trade their slave status for wifehood, and captive girls were carefully trained to become Comanche wives. Captive boys were trained as warriors to fill the vacancies in the warrior ranks. In addition to members of other tribes, Anglos, Spaniards, and Mexicans were abducted to be made slaves.